

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBABAN 00593 01 OF 04 172010Z

ACTION AF-10

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P 161120Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3989

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE VIA POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 MBABANE 0593

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AMGT PINT EAID WZ

SUBJECT: SWAZILAND: POLICY OBJECTIVES, APPROACH AND BUDGET
IMPLICATIONS

REF: A) 77 STATE 291277 B) 77 STATE 295561 C) 77 STATE 297394

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ARE THE (A) OVERVIEW ON APPROACHES
TO ACHIEVING GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, (B) A SUMMARY STATEMENT
OF THOSE OBJECTIVES, (C) PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS THAT MAY
AFFECT THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, (D) ANTICIPATED KEY ISSUES IN
US-SWAZI RELATIONS, (E) OVERALL BUDGETARY IMPLICATIONS
ON EACH AGENCY INVOLVED, AND (F) STATUS REPORT
ON ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY.

2. OVERVIEW. THE SINGLE MOST CRITICAL EVENT IN MODERN SWAZILAND,
AND AROUND WHICH HISTROY WILL REVOLVE, WILL BE THE CHOICE
OF A SUCCESSOR ON THE DEMISE OF AUTOCRATIC 78-YEAR-OLD
KING SOBHUZA. THE CHOICE WILL BE OUTSIDE THE CONTROL OF
US AND ALL OTHER FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. SO WE MUST
INTENSIFY OUR EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY SWAZI INSTITUTIONS
WE CAN INFLUENCE NOW IN ORDER TO FACILITATE AN
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PAGE 02 MBABAN 00593 01 OF 04 172010Z

ORDERLY TRANSITION TO A MORE PROGRESSIVE SUCCESSOR
REGIME. IN SO DOING WE AIM TO AVOID (HOWEVER
IMPERFECT THE PARALLEL) THE PROBLEM OF "TOO LITTLE
TOO LATE" THAT LED TO DOWNFALL OF FEUDALISTIC
EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE.

B. EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN SWAZILAND HAS BEEN, AND

WILL CONTINUE TO BE, DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF GOVERNMENT'S CONTRADICTORY APPROACH ON MANY FRONTS: IT SDESIRE FOR GREATER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFLICTS WITH ITS CONSERVATIVE USE OF ITS OWN AMPLE FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR REALISTIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS; ITS DESIRE FOR ACCELERATED "LOCALIZATION" OF SUPERVISORY AND MANAGERIAL POSITIONS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS CONFLICTS WITH ITS RECOGNITION OF NEED TO MAINTAIN EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY; AND ITS DESIRE TO HALT THE EXODUS FROM RURAL AREASCONFLICTS WITH THE GOVERNMENT-PERPETUATED VALUE SYSTEM THAT STRESSES FORMAL ACADEMIC EDUCATION OVER VOCATIONAL AND AGRICULTURAL TRAINING. PARAMETERS OF CHANGE INCLUDE ATTEMPTS TO ISOLATE THEMSELVES FROM THE FERMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE RESTRAINTS IMPOSED BY INERTIA OF A CULTURE THAT PUTS A PREMIUM ON DEFENERNCE TO HIGHER AUTHORITY AND DISCOURAGES INITIATIVE AND INNOVATION, AS WELL AS BY THE DESIRE TO AVOID ACTIONS THAT COULD JEOPARDIZE SWAZILAND'S CRUCIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING BLACK-RULED MARXIST MOZAMBIQUE AND WHITE-RULED ARCH-CONSERVATIVE SOUTH AFRICA.

C. DESPITE EARLIER APPEARANCES, THE REALITY OF SWAZILAND IS ONE OF CULTURALLY-CONDONED NEPOTISM, SHARPLY DECLINING FOREIGN INVESTMENT (READ NEW JOBS),
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PAGE 03 MBABAN 00593 01 OF 04 172010Z

SHARPLY RISING COST-OF-LIVING, INEQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, INCREASING CORRUPTION, THE BEGINNINGS OF STUDENT, TEACHER AND URBAN UNREST, DISCOURAGEMENT OF ORGANIZED LABOR ACTIVITY, CONTROL OVER FOREIGN TRAVEL OF ITS CITIZENS, LEGAL SANCTION FOR ARBITRARY DETENTION, AND ABSENCE OF A LEGISLATURE OR OTHER REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTION FOR COPING WITH MODERN-SECTOR ISSUES. DESPITE LIMITED ATTEMPTS TO MITIGATE THESE REALITIES, THEY COMBINE TO CREATE A POTENTIAL FOR SERIOUS UNREST ON THE DEATH OF KING SOBHUZA, WHOSE HALF-CENTURY OF RULE HAS EARNED HIM RESPECT, REVERENCE, AND POWER THAT ARE NOT TRANSMISSABLE TO HIS HEIR. SAME ELEMENTS CAN FRUSTRATE EFFORTS OF OUTSIDERS AND CONCERNED SWAZIS SEEKING TO PROMOTE A MORE PROGRESSIVE REGIME IN THE REMAINING YEARS OF SOBHUZA'S LIFETIME AND THEREAFTER. HOWEVER, THESE REALITIES AND SURROUNDING UNCERTAINTIES SHOULD INSPIRE SUPPORT FOR EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE AT A RATE AND MAGNITUDE AT LEAST EQUAL TO THE DESTABILIZING INFLUENCES ON THE PRESENT REGIME.

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PAGE 01 MBABAN 00593 02 OF 04 172006Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-10 L-03 A-01 SIG-01
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FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3990

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE VIA POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 MBABANE 0593

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3. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

A. WITH AN EYE TO TRANSITION AND POST-SOBUHUZA ERA, OUR AIMS ARE TO IDENTIFY AND SUPPORT ELEMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS BOTH INSIDE GOS AND IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR THAT CAN BE EFFECTIVE IN (A) MAINTAINING THE GOS MODERATE AND NON-RACIAL POLICIES, (B) PROMOTING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION AFTER THE KING'S DEATH AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROGRESSIVE, STABLE AND DEMOCRATIC SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT, AND (C) DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING REALISTIC AND RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL/ ECONOMIC POLICIES AND PROGRAMS TO AVOID THE DESTABILIZING AND RADICALIZING PRESSURES OF UNEMPLOYMENT, UNTRAINED MANPOWER AND DISSATISFIED CITIZENRY.

B. REPORT ANALYTICALLY, TO THE EXTENT THEY RELATE TO USG INTERESTS, ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GOS AND OF SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN SWAZILAND.

C. MOUNT AN AGGRESSIVE INFORMATION CAMPAIGN TO EXPLAIN
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PAGE 02 MBABAN 00593 02 OF 04 172006Z

US INTEREST IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE (INCLUDING ITS

LINK WITH AID PROGRAMS) AND TO DEVELOP GOS
SUPPORT FOR THE USG POSITION ON THAT AND OTHER ISSUES
IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

D. ENCOURAGE THE GOS TO INVITE HIGH-LEVEL USG
OFFICIAL VISITORS, ESPECIALLY ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN
MATTERS, TO LESSEN THE GOS' FEELING OF BEING IGNORED
ON REGIONAL ISSUES.

E. PROMOTE PRIVATE US INVESTMENT AND TRADE WITH
SWAZILAND TO PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICAN
INVESTMENT AND TRADE AND TO HELP CREATE BADLY NEEDED
JOBS IN THE MODERN SECTOR.

4. PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS THAT MAY AFFECT IMPLEMENTATION
OF US PROGRAMS.

A. WITH THE LIKELY INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AND
ZIMBABWE WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR OR SO, WE
ANTICIPATE ACCELERATED BLACK AFRICAN PRESSURES IN
SUPPORT OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OPPOSED TO SOUTH
AFRICAN REGIME WHICH, ADDED TO EXISTING FERMENT, WOULD
HASTEN THE RADICALIZATION OF THIS GENERATION OF SWAZI
YOUTH AND LEAD TO ANTI-FOREIGN, ANTI-WHITE FEELING THAT
COULD FORCE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TECHNICIANS AND PCV'S.
THESE FEELINGS WILL BE EXACERBATED BY THE EXPANDING GOS
ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA;

B. AS PART OF MOZAMBIEUQ'S ROLE IN APPLYING SUCH
PRESSURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, THE GPRM CAN BE
EXPECTED, IN IMPLEMENTING ANY UN-SPONSORED OIL EMBARGO,
TO TAKE STEPS TO CUT OFF OIL SHIPMENTS TO SWAZILAND
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PAGE 03 MBABAN 00593 02 OF 04 172006Z

WHICH WOULD (UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS) MEAN A VIRTUAL
HALT TO THE MODERN SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING ALL
AID PROJECTS;

C. GROWING INTERNAL DISSATISFACTION, ESPECIALLY AMONG
URBAN SLUM DWELLERS, WHEN ADDED TO TEACHERS' GRIEVANCE
AND OTHER COMPLAINTS, MAY WELL ERUPT INTO ANOTHER ROUND
OF DEMONSTRATIONS AND UNREAS AND FORCE DISCONTINUATION
AND/OR DELAY OF AID AND PEACE CORPS ACTIVITIES.

5. KEY ISSUES IN US-SWAZI RELATIONS. FIRST, THE RULING
MONARCH'S POWER IS GRADUALLY BEING ERODED BY (A) THE
INCREASING SOCIO-CULTURAL EFFECTS OF THE MODERN
ECONOMIC SECTOR, AND (B) A NEW POLITICAL AWARENESS
AMONG OFFICIALS OCCUPYING RESPONSIBLE WORKING-LEVEL
POSITIONS IN THE BUREAUCRACY WHO ARE PREPARED TO

CHALLENGE TRADITIONALISTS IN THE STRUGGLE THAT MAY OCCUR
ON THE DEATH OF SOBHUZA II. THE ISSUE FOR THE US: HOW TO
INFLUENCE ANY SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT TO MOVE IN THE
DIRECTION OF A STABLE, REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM OF
GOVERNMENT THAT RESPECTS HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONTINUES
TO SUPPORT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ISSUES. IN THE EVENT THESE EFFORTS FAIL, TO WHAT
EXTENT SHOULD THE US CONDITION AID ON GOS
PROGRESS IN ACHIEVING REFORMS?

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PAGE 01 MBABAN 00593 03 OF 04 172009Z

ACTION AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3991

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE VIA POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 MBABANE 0593

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B. THE MAJOR INSTRUMENTS AVAILABLE TO THE US FOR
ACQUIRING AND EXERCISING CREDIBILITY AND INFLUENCE
DURING THE FORTHCOMING TRANSITION PERIOD ARE
(A) ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, (B) PRIVATE INVESTMENT,
AND (C) AND AGGRESSIVE PUBLIC INFORMATION/CULTURAL
AFFAIRS CAMPAIGN. EACH RAISES A DISTINCT ISSUE:
(A) HOW TO ASSURE THAT GOS REQUESTS FOR ECONOMIC
AID ARE JUSTIFIED ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC (AS OPPOSED
TO POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED) GROUNDS AND ARE WITHIN
ITS CAPABILITIES TO ADMINISTER; (B) HOW TO
STIMULATE AND FACILITATE US PRIVATE INVESTMENT
IN SWAZILAND GIVEN THE DISINCENTIVES OF CORRUPTION
AND POTENTIAL INSTABILITY; AND (C) HOW TO STRENGTHEN
AND CONSOLIDATE US INFLUENCE AND SWAZI CONFIDENCE
IN OUR LEADERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT METHODS AND
THEREBY LAY A SOUND BASIS FOR CLOSER US-GOS RELATIONS.

6. BUDGETARY IMPLICATIONS.

A. STATE. THE PRESENT FIVE-PERSON EMBASSY STAFF AT MBABANE (CHARGE/DCM, IRO AND THREE STAFF SUPPORT) CANNOT REALISTICALLY BE EXPECTED TO ASSUME INDEFINITELY CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 MBABAN 00593 03 OF 04 172009Z

THE FULL BURDEN OF POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC/CONSULTATION/COORDINATION RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH ARE REQUIRED TO PURSUE THE POLICY OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS OUTLINED HEREIN. AS NOTED BELOW, THE FIRST STEP IN MEETING POLICY OBJECTIVES AND POST NEEDS IS ASSIGNMENT OF PAO TO RELIEVE CHARGE/DOM AND IRO OF ESSENTIAL HIGH PRIORITY PUBLIC AFFAIRS DUTIES AND ENABLE THEM TO CONCENTRATE FULLY ON OVERALL MISSION GOALS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THESE SHOULD INCLUDE DIALOGUE WITH GOS ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF SWAZILAND'S APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT. SECOND STEP WITHIN NEXT TWO YEARS SHOULD BE STAFF STRENGTHENING IN FORM OF ASSIGNMENT OF MID-LEVEL POL/ECON OFFICER TO HELP IMPLEMENT SUCH AGREED POLICY OBJECTIVES AS PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS, MONITORING AND ANALYZING SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS AND STIMULATING US PRIVATE INVESTMENTS. THIS IS IN ANTICIPATION OF A CONTINUING DECLINE IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SWAZILAND DUE TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND REPERCUSSIONS OF EVENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. TO SLOW THAT DECLINE, EXPLORE PROSPECTS FOR US INVESTMENT TO OFFSET DECLINING SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT, AND FORGE STRONGER LINKS TO US PRIVATE MANAGEMENT, TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL, THE ADDITION OF AN FSL COMMERCIAL ASSISTANT IN FY 79 WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT INVESTMENT IN TERMS OF OVERALL US OBJECTIVES.

B. AID. THE RECENTLY INCREASED LEVEL OF US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO SWAZILAND IS A MEASURE OF APPRECIATION FOR ITS FRIENDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD THE US, DIFFICULTIES OF ITS POSITION VIS-A-VIS ITS NEIGHBORS, SOUTH AFRICA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AS WELL AS AN EXPRESSION OF US HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR THE PLIGHT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MBABAN 00593 03 OF 04 172009Z

SWAZILAND'S RURAL POOR MAJORITY. THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN VALID AS LONG AS KING SOBHUZA II CONTINUES TO RULE, MAKE UNLIKELY ANY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN US ASSISTANCE IN THE PERIOD ADDRESSED BY THE REPORT -- UNLESS THE

MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY OF THE GOS BUREAURACY SERIOUSLY DETERIORATES, A POINT INSPIRING GROWING ANXIETY AT PRESENT. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS NOT TOO EARLY TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR THE POST-SOBHUZA ERA WHICH OFFERS THE OPPORTUNITIES TO BRING ABOUT THE GRADUAL TRANSFORMATION OF SWAZILAND INTO A MODERN STATE AND TO PERMIT THE NEXT STEPS IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS TO BE TAKEN AT A FASTER PACE THAN AT PRESENT. IN ANTICIPATION OF THE KING'S SUCCESSOR, AND IN PURSUING EFFORTS TO IMPROVE OUR POSITION IN THE POST-TRANSITION COMPETITION, WE ARE ALREADY UNDERTAKING (WITH APPROPRIATE DISCRETION) THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

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PAGE 01 MBABAN 00593 04 OF 04 172007Z
ACTION AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3992
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE VIA POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 MBABANE 0593

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(A) TO IDENTIFY PROMISING INSTRUMENTS OF CHANGE (E.G., YOUNG POLITICAL AND LABOR LEADERS) AND OFFER THEM TRAINING; (B) TO MODERNIZE FUNDAMENTAL INFLUENTIAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE UNVIERSITY, CIVIL SERVICE AND GOS FINANCIAL AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS; (C) TO IDENTIFY WITH THE RUAL AND URBAN POOR AND TO SUPPORT PROJECTS TO ASSIST THEM, THEREBY PRE-EMPTING THIS FERTIEL GROUND FROM THOSE PREACHING RADICAL IDEOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS; AND (D) TO INTENSIFY THE DIALOGUE WITH THE EMERGING GENERATION OF MODERN LEADERS AND BUREAUCRATS IN PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT. IN THE POST-SOBHUZA PERIOD, WE WOULD PROPOSE A NEW DIMENSION OF ASSISTANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF MOVING THE NEW REGIME IN THE DIRECTION OF MORE REALISTIC POLICIES TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN SOCIETY. THE INITIAL LEVEL OF SUCH ASSISTANCE

WOULD BE APPROXIMATELY 20-30 PERCENT MORE THAN CURRENT AID FUNDS.

C. PEACE CORPS. THE PEACE CORPS PRESENCE IN SWAZILAND HAS BEEN AT ITS PRESENT HIGH LEVEL FOR SOME FIVE YEARS. A COMBINATION OF ACTORS NOW POINTS TO A DECREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PCV'S, BEGINNING WITH A
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PAGE 02 MBABAN 00593 04 OF 04 172007Z

REDUCTION OF APPROXIMATELY 15 PERCENT IN CY 1978. THIS DECREASE IS RECOMMENDED FOR THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL REASONS: (A) OUR CONCERN ABOUT HIGH VISIBILITY OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PCV'S IN THIS SMALL COUNTRY; (B) THE NATURAL ATTRITION OF PCV'S DURING THE FORTHCOMING SHIFT IN PROGRAM EMPHASIS FROM EDUCATION (WHERE GOS HAS BECOME OVERDEPENDENT ON PCV'S) TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGRICULTURE; AND (C) THE POTENTIAL POLITICAL UNREST AND TENSION ACCOMPANYING THE FORTHCOMING POLITICAL TRANSITION. A 15 PERCENT DECLINE SHOULD RESULT IN PRESENCE OF ABOUT 90 PCV'S IN COUNTRY BY THE END OF 1978.

3. USIS. USIA HAS BEEN MOST COOPERATIVE DURING THE PAST YEAR IN PROVIDING BACKSTOPPING AND ADDITIONAL FUNDS AS NEEDED TO ALLOW MBABANE TO EXPAND ITS INFORMATION/CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. AN IMPORTANT POLICY GOAL IN THE CURRENT TRANSITION TO THE POST-SOBHUZA AREA IS TO MOUNT AN ACCELERATED CAMPAIGN TO STRENGTHEN THE MODERN POLITICAL FORCES IN DEALING WITH THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. SINCE NO PAO HAS YET BEEN ASSIGNED TO MBABANE, NO SIGNIFICANT BUDGET INCREASE IS REQUESTED. WE REITERATE THE URGENCY IN GETTING A PAO HERE. MEANWHILE, ON AN "AS-NEEDED" BASIS, ADDITIONAL FUND SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ENABLE POST TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PROGRAMMING OPPORTUNITIES AS THEY ARISE, PARTICULARLY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES AND POTENTIAL POLITICAL LEADERS.

7. STATUS REPORT ON ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES.

A. THE SMALL DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN MBABANE HAS, WITH
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PAGE 03 MBABAN 00593 04 OF 04 172007Z

DEPARTMENT AND AID SUPPORT, UNDERTAKEN AN ACTIVE PROGRAM OF USING IV AND STUDY GRANTS TO INTRODUCE SENSITIVE,

OUTWARD-LOOKING YOUNG POTENTIAL LEADERS AND TECHNOCRATS TO THE REALITIES OF THE MODERN WORLD. STATUS: THIS YEAR SOME SEVEN IV GRANTS ARE AVAILABLE AND UP TO 60 NEW AID-SPONSORED GRANTS. WE WILL REQUEST THE VISIT OF A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN FOR SWAZILAND'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN SEPTEMBER 1978.

B. WITHIN THE CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE SMALL STAFF, CONSULTATIONS WITH GOS OFFICIALS TAKE PLACE REGULARLY AIMED AT CREATING AWARENESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN OUR RELATIONS. STATUS: GREATER EFFORTS WILL DEPEND UPON THE ADDITION OF AMERICAN STAFF. A PAO IS URGENTLY NEEDED TO ADVANCE THESE GOALS; A MID-LEVEL PO/ECON OFFICER SHOULD ALSO BE ASSIGNED TO PERMIT A MORE INTENSIFIED DIALOGUE WITH THE GOS ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES DURING THIS VITAL PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO THE POST-SOBHUZA ERA.

C. SIZABLE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN MOUNTED IN AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION AND HEALTH SECTORS. STATUS: MORE THAN \$5 MILLION US PARTICIPATION THIS YEAR IN A FIVE-YEAR, \$40 MILLION RURAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEME, AND \$5 MILLION, FIVE-YEAR EDUCATION AND \$5 MILLION HEALTH PROGRAM ALONE.

D. MODEST EFFORTS HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN IN BEHALF OF US PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND TRADE. THESE EFFORTS ENCOUNTER CONSIDERABLE RESISTANCE DUE TO THE DOMINANT ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE U.K., CONCERN ABOUT GOS POLITICAL INSTABILITY, AND THE LACK OF A SIGNIFICANT DOMESTIC MARKET. STATUS: PROSPECTS ARE NOT GOOD. A CHANGE IN THE ECONOMIC/POLITICAL CLIMATE IS ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. MEANWHILE, OUR EFFORTS CONTINUE, AS EVIDENCED BY THE PROPOSAL FOR A POL/ECON OFFICER AND AN FSL COMMERCIAL POSITION.

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PAGE 04 MBABAN 00593 04 OF 04 172007Z

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